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ABSTRACT

The conference program, a list of participating institutions and agencies, three manuscripts, and an outline of themes and speakers of past conferences are included in this report. The focus of the conference was public accountability to higher education. The following presentations were made: "The University and the Community: A Janus View," by Warren E. Armstrong; "Governmental Interference with College and University Autonomy," by Morton S. Baratz; and "Vulnerability in College Teaching," by Kaoru Yamamoto. The first address discusses what constitutes a liberal education in our present society and suggests that the university must be as responsive to the needs of society as possible but emphasizes that its central mission is academic. The second address discusses academic autonomy, cites specific acts of encroachment upon academic autonomy by government, and suggests approaches for dealing with the situation. The third address presents a way of conceptualizing the teaching process, which involves interactional variables occurring between the teacher and learner. (SW)

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON HIGHER EDUCATION

Public Accountability to Higher Education

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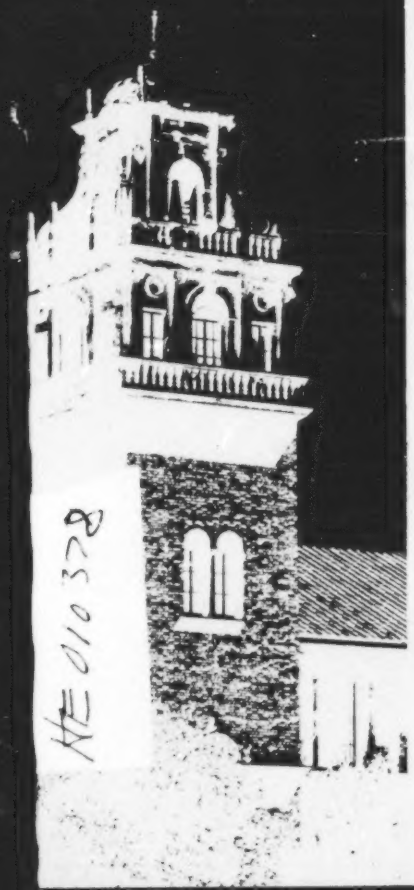

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Area of Higher Education • Junior College Center
College of Education
Texas Tech University

PROCEEDINGS OF THE

FOURTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON HIGHER EDUCATION

Public Accountability to Higher Education
October 20, 21, 1977

Higher Education Program Area
College of Education
Texas Tech University

. . . . .

Conference Co-sponsored by the
Division of Continuing Education
Texas Tech University

Texas Tech University

College of Education
P.O. Box 4560
Lubbock, Texas 79409

Office of the Dean

Phone (806) 742-2277

We are happy to share with you these presentations from our Fourth Annual Conference on Higher Education. Ken Freeman and his staff have worked hard to provide an annual conference that addresses the current concerns of higher education, particularly those of the colleges and universities in our own southwestern region, and we think that you may well find the perspectives presented here to be of interest.

At the same time, I want to take this opportunity to invite and urge you to make plans to attend the Fifth Annual Conference. This event will occur on October 12-13, 1978. As Dr. Freeman and the planning committees proceed with their work, they will be sending along information about the projected themes, topics, and arrangements for the conference.

Robert H. Anderson
Professor and Dean

RHA/ms

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THE MINNIE STEVENS PIPER FOUNDATION
Michael J. Balint, Executive Director

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THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON HIGHER EDUCATION:

A VEHICLE FOR REVITALIZATION AND GROWTH IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The three essays that follow are manuscripts from the three major presentations at the Fourth Annual Conference on Higher Education, sponsored by the Higher Education Program Area of the College of Education, Texas Tech University. The conference was held in Lubbock on October 20-21, 1977. Conference Director was Dr. Kenneth Freeman, Chairperson of the Higher Education Program Area and Director of the Junior College Center for Professional Development at Texas Tech.

The focus of the Fourth Annual Conference on Higher Education was "Public Accountability to Higher Education." In this day of intense public scrutiny and public rethinking concerning the taxpayer's investment in higher education, a subject could hardly have been so timely.

Three outstanding figures in higher education shared their unique perspectives on the theme, and we share them with you now. The speakers represented diverse backgrounds and interests, but a common dedication to the search for a better tomorrow in higher education.

- Dr. Warren Armstrong, President of Eastern New Mexico University; Portales, New Mexico.
- Dr. Morton S. Baratz, General Secretary of the American Association of University Professors.
- Dr. Kaoru Yamamoto, Professor of Higher Education at Arizona State University.

About the Annual Higher Education Conference

Over the years of its existence, the Annual Conference on Higher Education has sought to provide higher education personnel an opportunity for reexamining their assumptions, assessing their methods, and re-evaluating their objectives. Purposes of the conferences include:

1. To provide a springboard for increased interaction among institutions of higher education.
2. To provide a forum where members of the higher education community may speak out about the issues, problems, and opportunities that confront them.

3. To provide for the sharing of new ideas and new skills that participants can use in their own institutions.

4. To maintain an informed and alert cadre of professionals in higher education, who can respond intelligently to the demands of a rapidly changing environment.

5. To promote the clarification and validation of institutional roles as they emerge in each new era.

The development of quality programs and the presentation of successful conferences each year has been due in large measure to the involvement of a large number of individuals and institutions in the planning of the conferences. During the summer preceding each conference, a Planning Committee, composed of representatives of several southwest colleges and universities, meets for one or more planning conferences. This participation and collaboration on the part of institutions on a region-wide basis allows the conferences to continue to respond to the problems and issues that are timely and critical for conference participants.

The Annual Conference on Higher Education is presented in the belief that the continual reexamination of vital issues is essential to the continued vigor of higher education in a changing society.

Conference Program

The conference program is reproduced on the following page to provide the reader an indication of the setting in which the ideas presented in this publication were introduced. The program also illustrates the extent of region-wide involvement, and indicates the range of current issues treated as discussion topics in the course of the conference.

FOURTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON HIGHER EDUCATION

Presented by

TEXAS TECH UNIVERSITY

HIGHER EDUCATION PROGRAM AREA

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

AND

THE DIVISION OF CONTINUING EDUCATION

October 20-21, 1977
South Park Inn
Lubbock, Texas

CONFERENCE THEME: "PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY TO HIGHER EDUCATION"

CONFERENCE PROGRAM:

Thursday, October 20

7:00 p.m. Opening Dinner Session, Aztec Room

Presiding: Dr. Kenneth Freeman, Professor and Chairperson, Higher Education Texas Tech University

Invocation: Dr. Samuel Laine, Westminister Presbyterian Church

Welcome and Introductions:
Dr. Robert Anderson, Dean
College of Education
Texas Tech University

Musical Interlude: Mary Anderson

Keynote Address: "The University and the Community: A Janus View"

Dr. Warren Armstrong, President
Eastern New Mexico University
Portales, New Mexico

Friday, October 21

7:30-8:30 a.m. Registration

Complimentary Continental Breakfast

8:30 a.m. First General Session, Aztec Room

Presiding: Dr. Jacquelin Collins, Associate Professor of History and Immediate Past Chairperson, Faculty Council, Texas Tech University

Address: "The Governmental Challenge to Academic Autonomy"

Dr. Morton S. Baratz
General Secretary
American Association of University Professors

9:25- 9:55 a.m. Questions from the Audience

9:55-10:10 a.m. Coffee Break, Patio West

10:10-10.55 a.m. Three Concurrent Discussion Sessions

1. "Faculty Stake in Institutional Autonomy" -Aztec Room

   Presiding: Dr. Clarence A. Bell, Associate Professor of Engineering and Chairperson, Faculty Council Texas Tech University

   Discussion Leader: Dr. Jacquelin Collins, Associate Professor of History and Immediate Past Chairperson Faculty Council, Texas Tech University

2. "The Effect of Federal and State Aid in Institutional Autonomy" -Mayan Room

   Presiding: Dr. Robert Shepack, President El Paso Community College

   Discussion Leader: Dr. George Meenaghan Dean for Research and Director of Research Services, Texas Tech University

3. "What Autonomy Have We Lost in Colleges and Universities in Texas"
-Bronze Room

Presiding: Dr. Beryl D. Clinton, Dean
Clarendon College

Discussion Leader: Dr. Robert Clinton
President
Western Texas College

10:15-11:50 a.m. Conference Participants Change Discussion Sessions: Each session will be repeated.

11:50- 1:00 p.m. Lunch, Patio West

1:15- 2:30 p.m. Second General Session -Aztec Room

Presiding: Dr. Michael Mezack, Director
Continuing Education
Texas Tech University

Address: "Vulnerability in College Teaching"

Dr. Kaoru Yamamoto
Professor of Higher Education
Arizona State University

Questions from the Audience

2:30- 2:45 p.m. Coffee Break, Patio West

2:45- 3:30 p.m. Three Concurrent Discussion Sessions

1. "Trends in the Academic Marketplace"
-Aztec Room

Presiding: Dr. Dayton Roberts
Professor of Higher Education
Texas Tech University

Discussion Leader: Dr. Lawrence L. Graves
Dean, College of Arts and Sciences
Texas Tech University

2. "Interface of College Counseling and College Teaching" -Bronze Room

Presiding: Dr. Betty Peak
Professor of Psychology
Odessa College

Discussion Leader: Dr. Phillip Speegle
President, Odessa College

3. "Evaluation of the Instructional Process"
-Mayan Room

Presiding: Dr. Frank Hunt, Dean
South Plains College

Discussion Leader: Dr. Idris Traylor
Deputy Director, ICASALS and
Professor of History
Texas Tech University

3:30-4.25 p.m. Conference Participants Change Discussion Sessions: Each session will be repeated

PARTICIPATING INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES FROM PAST CONFERENCES

Abilene Christian University	Abilene, Texas
Amarillo College	Amarillo, Texas
American Association of University Professors	Washington, D. C.
American College Testing Program	Iowa City, Iowa
Arizona State University	Tempe, Arizona
Baylor University	Waco, Texas
Cisco Junior College	Cisco, Texas
Clarendon College	Clarendon, Texas
College of the Mainland	Texas City, Texas
Eastern New Mexico University	Portales, New Mexico
East Texas State University	Commerce, Texas
El Paso Community College	El Paso, Texas
Frank Phillips College	Borger, Texas
Hardin Simmons University	Abilene, Texas
Howard College	Big Spring, Texas
Lubbock Christian College	Lubbock, Texas
Midland College	Midland, Texas
Minnie Stevens Piper Foundation	San Antonio, Texas
McMurry College	Abilene, Texas
National Center for Higher Education Management Systems	Boulder, Colorado
New Mexico Junior College	Roswell, New Mexico
New Mexico State University at Alamogordo	Alamogordo, New Mexico
Odessa College	Odessa, Texas
Ranger Junior College	Ranger, Texas
San Antonio College	San Antonio, Texas
South Plains College	Levelland, Texas
State University of New York, State University College of Arts and Sciences, Genoseo	Genoseo, New York
St. Mary's University	San Antonio, Texas
Texas A & I University	Kingsville, Texas
Texas A & M University	College Station, Texas
Texas Chiropractic College	Pasadena, Texas
Texas College and University Coordinating Board	Austin, Texas
Texas Southern University	Houston, Texas
Texas Tech University	Lubbock, Texas
Trinity University	San Antonio, Texas
University of California	Berkeley, California
University of Minnesota	Minneapolis, Minnesota
University of Texas at El Paso	El Paso, Texas
University of Texas at the Permian Basin	Odessa, Texas
Vernon Regional Junior College	Vernon, Texas
Western Texas College	Snyder, Texas
West Texas State University	Canyon, Texas
Ysleta Independent School District	El Paso, Texas

THE UNIVERISTY AND THE COMMUNITY: A JANUS VIEW

WARREN B. ARMSTRONG

Dr. Armstrong is President of Eastern New Mexico University at Portales, New Mexico. Prior to accepting the presidency at ENMU, he was Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at St. Cloud State University of Minnesota. Dr. Armstrong has also served in faculty and administrative positions at Olivet College, Michigan, and the University of Wisconsin at Whitewater.

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE COMMUNITY: A JANUS VIEW

Warren B. Armstrong

It is always with mixed feelings that I accept invitations to speak to learned audiences, particularly in the healthy skepticism of a university community. On one hand I am pleased and honored to be an invited participant on such occasions while, on the other hand, I realize that expectations in such an assemblage tend to be high and that the attendant risk of failing to meet expectations is, consequently, also high. I am reminded, in this situation, of a modern version of the Old Testament account of the Exodus. It goes like this:

> And God looked down on Moses, who was suffering with his people in Egypt and said: "Moses, there's some good news and some bad news. I'm going to devastate the land of your oppressors. The heavens will be rent asunder. The rivers will be turned to blood. Locusts will destroy the crops. And then I'm going to part the Red Sea and you, Moses, will lead your people right through the Red Sea and ultimately to the Promised Land. That is the good news!" and Moses said: "Lord, that is truly wonderful! But what is the bad news?" And the Lord God replied: "You, Moses, must write the environmental impact statement."

More seriously, though, I do recall clearly my thoughts as a very junior assistant professor of history years ago at my first general faculty convocation in the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Wisconsin in Whitewater. When the dean addressed us, I wondered (to myself of course), "How can he assume that he has anything new to say, anything this faculty hasn't already heard." But knowledge is not

static, it does change and it does grow, as does our understanding--of our world, of our society, and of ourselves. There is much new knowledge to acquire and there are always new perspectives to ponder. With this in mind, permit me to proceed to my topic for this evening.

For the past 26 years, I have been fully involved in higher education, first as a student; then as an instructor in history; next as a department chairman; then as an assistant dean, associate dean, and dean of liberal arts, and now as a university president. In short, my whole adult life has been spent in the academy. It has been my good fortune to serve in both private and public institutions and in both instances to participate in public outreach and/or continuing education programs. Yet I must confess, with some chagrin, that until the last two years, during which I have served as President of Eastern University, my thoughts concerning relationships which obtain, or ought to obtain, between the university and the larger community which created it and which it serves, were more random in nature than they were part of a comprehensive view of this segment of American society. But since accepting this appointment, my ideas about the role of the university in a free and democratic society have, necessarily, been brought into sharper focus, and it is my intent this evening to outline for you, in broad terms, my understanding of that role.

This leads me to a brief explanation of the title I have chosen for this address, "The University and the Community: A Janus View." You may recall that Janus was one of the household deities in Roman mythology, the God of the Portals, of beginnings and endings. He was depicted by the Roman artists as having two faces, one looking

forward, one looking backward. In ancient Rome, he was found most frequently on the door of the home facing both inward and outward. In a very real sense, it seems to me, the university is the Janus of modern American society. The university has, on one hand, responsibility for preserving, recording, interpreting, and transmitting an incredibly rich human heritage, a legacy of almost infinite diversity, and in this function the university acts as an influence or force for continuity in society. On the other hand, the university possesses the resources for inventive research which can produce significant benefits for society that improve the quality of life. In this capacity, it acts as an agent or influence for change in society. In order for the educational enterprise to succeed, it is necessary to recognize the existence of both forces in the university (and they are a reflection of similar forces in the larger society not quite so clearly defined or perceived, but just as real). It is also necessary to find a satisfactory means of accommodating these forces, for they result in a natural state of tension within the university that can disrupt and damage the educational process if not harnessed for productive purposes.

This state of tension in the educational process to which I have referred was brought into sharp focus during the last year of Gerald Ford's presidency through a dialogue which was published by the American Council on Education (Higher Education and National Affairs, Vol. XXIV, No. 9, February 28, 1975), featuring two high-ranking officials in the Ford Administration. In January of 1975, United States Commissioner of Education, T. H. Bell, speaking to the Council of Small Private Colleges, stated that "the college that devotes itself totally and unequivocally

to the liberal arts today is just kidding itself. . . . To send young men and women into today's world armed only with Aristotle, Freud, and Hemingway is like sending a lamb into the lion's den. It is to delude them as well as ourselves." One month later, in a convocation at New College in Florida, Special Presidential Consultant and White House liaison with the academic community, Robert Goldwin, offered these comments about Commissioner Bell's remarks. Again, I quote:

> At first glance it would seem that Commissioner Bell means that the study of liberal arts is a useless luxury we cannot afford in hard times. But I don't think that is his meaning. I think he is criticizing those who send students into the world of work without skills. There are, unfortunately, schools in which students do not develop useful skills, especially skills of analytical thinking and experimenting and calculating. I agree that it is unfair to students, and to all of us, just as Commissioner Bell says, to leave them to seek jobs in such an unprepared state.
>
> But there is a problem in speaking of 'salable skills.' What skills are salable? Right now, skills for making automobiles are not highly salable, but they have been for decades and might be again soon. Skills in teaching are not now as salable as they were for the past 20 years, and the population charts indicate they may not be soon again. Home construction skills are another example of varying salability, as the job market fluctuates.
>
> The first difficulty, then, is that if you want to build a curriculum exclusively on what is salable, you will have to make the courses very short and change them very often, in an attempt to keep up with the rapid changes in the job market. But will not the effort be in vain? In very few things can we be sure of future salability, and in a society where people are free to study what they want, and work where they want, and invest as they want, there is no way to keep supply and demand in labor in perfect accord.
>
> The school that devotes itself totally and unequivocally to salable skills, especially in a time of high umemployment, sending young men and women into the world armed only with a narrow range of skills, is (the school that

> is) sending lambs into the lion's den. Too many people learn only one narrowly defined set of skills in school, trained to fill a position in one well-defined industry. And then that industry stops hiring or lays workers off. Now if those people gained nothing more from their studies than supposedly salable skills, and can't make the sale because of changes in the job market, they have been cheated.
>
> But if those skills were more than salable, if the study made them better citizens and made them happier to be human beings, they have not been cheated. They will find some kind of job soon enough. It might even turn out that those humanizing and liberating skills are salable. Flexibility, an ability to change and learn new things, is a valuable skill. People who have learned how to learn, can learn outside of school. That's where most of us have learned to do what we do, not in school. Learning to learn is one of the highest liberal skills. . . .
>
> Any college worthy of itself must set its sights higher than to 'roll with the times.' It must strive to make the times roll our way. And only if we understand our time and try to shape it and make it conform to what is right and best, are we doing what we are capable of doing. Perhaps that is the right way to deal with the times--with daring and class and style--as befits a truly great people . . . .

I believe that Mr. Goldwin was precisely correct in his analysis of the problems which colleges and universities confront in attempting to hold in equilibrium the tension created by the need to produce graduates with specific job skills who are at the same time sufficiently liberally educated to adapt to rapid change in their vocational and personal lives.

What, then, constitutes a sufficiently liberal education in our present society? I am convinced that in the process of intellectual development, the educated individual acquires an understanding of, and an appreciation for, several dimensions of the human experience. Among them is a <u>time</u> dimension ("an apprehension of the geological past as well as an historical past and an identification of the interests of the self with the past and with the future as well as with the experienced

present.") In other words, one needs historical perspective,for life is not a situation comedy in which each day's problems end neatly at bed-time and one is confronted with a new and different scenario at the beginning of each day. We need to know of our own past, of the past of other peoples, and of our planet's past if we are to understand our present and to shape our future. There is also a space dimension in the understanding of the educated individual (a comprehension of the space of our galaxy as well as "a feeling of empathy for the global space within which we live in our local and sensed environment.") Again, a word of explanation may be in order. Few among us can comprehend the vastness of the cosmos. Our own solar system is beyond our abilities of spacial comprehension. But a very helpful perspective of life can be gained by contemplating the vastness of the universe. A third dimension which the educated person will also understand and appreciate is a humane dimension, a recognition that the individual is a part of the entire human community with all the qualities of compassion and benevolence which ought clearly to arise from such recognition. The liberally educated person is, then, one who is capable of identifying with the valuing a realm--a world--"significantly beyond the range of his (or her own) immediate experience," a world of antiquity, of diversity, and of complexity.[1]

The intrinsic worth of such an educational experience should be self-evident, it would seem, but I fear that it is dimly perceived by those who disdain liberal education in favor of purely vocational training as the only "relevant" preparation for the world of work, without apparent concern for the larger world of leisure, of civic responsibility, and of general day-to-day human relationships--in a word, of rational and res-

ponsible decision making in a free society. In my judgment, it is a mistake to advocate vocational training in lieu of liberal education, that is, to argue that liberal education is impractical.

At the same time, advocacy of vocational education as a practical and useful addition to liberal education is in no way inconsistent with the role of the university in the community. It is important to equip our youth with skills which are immediately applicable in the world of work. The appropriate response of the university to these seemingly disparate positions, in my judgment, is to broaden the institutional mission so as to include many types of vocational education, enriching these programs by offering them in the university environment and with the benefits of a general education experience.

There are many reasons for the denigration of liberal education which seems so widespread today, some of them traceable to our own failure in the academy to communicate more effectively our educational values, some to our acceptance of widely divergent views of the university or college as a passive instrument of society. It follows, it would seem, that before we can respond effectively to our critics and their criticisms we must clearly state our beliefs as to the nature of the academy and to the centrality of liberal education in that context.

There are at least two widely accepted views of the university as a "passive" institution extant in society today. The first holds that the college or university is merely society's instrument for preparing individuals for specialized roles in a complex and technologically-advanced industrial society. In such a construct, values are not a problem for the university, for the values existing in society are automatically those of

the university. Business, industry, and government frequently are prone to this view of the university and tend to ask not what the university represents, but how it can best mold its students to fit the currently perceived needs of society.[2] A second "passive" view of the university seems clearly to be the result of the massive disenchantment of many among us, particularly college-age youth, with the established value structure of our society. But rather than regarding the university as the passive instrument of the larger society, those holding this view regard it as the means of self-fulfillment for the individual. This could be called an intrinsic conception of the university, so-called because it values education only in terms of its ability to satisfy internally perceived "needs" of the student. It casts the university in a role equally as passive as that perceived in the instrumental concept described previously. Its adherents object to institutional requirements, curricular or otherwise, and promote vigorously an academic marketplace concept. Both views make it possible for the university to evade questions about its own values, the instrumental view by accepting existing societal values and the intrinsic view by accepting the momentary desires of students as transcendent.[3]

I find neither view of the university acceptable, for the concept of liberal education cannot survive in the university conceived as a passive institution. The concept of liberal education is positive and active, not passive, and while it may be somewhat embarrassing in this day of rampant cynicism to speak of "the advancement of learning" or the "search for truth," perhaps we ought to be willing to give new meaning to this traditional terminology through a careful re-examination of our goals and objectives and of our articulation of those goals and objectives

to our students and to our many constituencies in the larger community.

Such an effort was undertaken recently at the University of Minnesota. The panel of students and faculty which developed a restatement of the aims of liberal education at that institution distinguished between cognitive and non-cognitive goals and spoke directly to the question of values.

> As if there were not an abundance of historical examples, contemporary events show us clearly enough that knowledge and skills may be turned to the most destructive purposes. Although a university may assume that its work of inquiry and dissemination takes place in a moral vacuum, it inevitably takes a moral position anyway. It needs to become aware of the values it teaches, even if it teaches them indirectly. It needs also to affirm them explicitly if they are desirable.[4]

I am convinced that our larger constituency, the citizens who support us through their tax dollars, understand generally and intuitively this concept of higher education even though they may not be able to articulate it easily, for it is clearly reflected in the manner in which the educational system has been structured. At Eastern University, for example, there is a strong College of Liberal Arts and Sciences which offers not only solid major programs in the disciplines traditional to the liberal arts, but which also provides a strong and liberal general education background for each student who chooses a major in one of the professional schools. (And I am certain that this is also true here at Texas Tech University, for I have know Larry Graves for many years and know of his strong commitment to liberal education as your Dean of Arts and Sciences.) There are also at Eastern University vigorous academic programs in the College of Business which offer students the opportunity to prepare for a wide variety of careers in the business community. The

College of Education and Technology not only provides students with a strong background for careers in teaching, but also offers numerous other opportunities for specialized careers in agriculture, home economics, engineering, industry, and technology. The College of Fine Arts offers a variety of excellent programs for students whose academic interests and career aspirations are in the arts and who wish either to teach or to perform in one of these disciplines. But underlying each program is the belief that it is the experience in liberal education which distinguishes between training and education, that makes the university graduate an educated man or woman.

It is this concern for educating the whole person that distinguishes the American system of higher education from that of a totalitarian society such as the Soviet Union. There the individual is trained for a single and specific role in society, not necessarily selected by personal choice but determined by the state. Service to the Party and, hence, to the State, is the governing force in the university structure in the USSR. American students enjoy a freedom of choice in vocation and location and, unlike their Soviet contemporaries, are educated for a responsible decision making role in a free society.

To me, this is the genious of American higher education, for it is based not on the dictates of a governmental bureaucracy, but on a dynamic partnership between the university and the larger community. We must recognize that the society which created and sustains public colleges and universities does not intend them to serve only the function of developing an intellectual elite. It is not a perversion of our mission to respond to new needs in our society (or old needs, long neglected) by creating new and academically sound programs which will prepare men and

women to meet the special circumstances of such needs. Permit me to cite an example: Suppose that the academic community had denied the legitimacy of programs designed to develop special skills for teachers of the mentally retarded when they were first proposed as a part of the curriculum in colleges of education shortly after the First World War. Had that been the dominant force in higher education at that time (and there were many who argued strenuously that worrying about "mental defectives" was a waste of time), we would be today an infinitely less humane society.

I believe that we must change, not for the sake of change but because our world has changed and is changing. And I believe that our change can and must be based on academically sound principles. Growth and progress in this regard will depend, of course, upon continuing support from the people of our respective states through legislative action. Conversely, continuing support from the people through legislative action will depend largely upon our growth and progress, our responsiveness to their legitimate expectations. It is our responsibility to be agents for progressive change, as well as a source of continuity and stability in society.

This, then, is my "Janus" view of university and community. The university <u>is</u> a force both for continuity and for change, and it must be as responsive to the needs of society as is possible given the constraints within which we operate. We need to know, from our larger constituency, how we can be of greater service. From businessmen, from merchants, from school teachers and administrators, from farmers and ranchers, and industrialists and investment counsellors and bankers and

attorneys and physicians and dentists and others in a whole host of rewarding and productive vocations and professions which our graduates have entered and will enter, we must seek answers to the question, "How may we better serve the larger community?" And we need to seek from our larger constituency the resources which are necessary if we are to respond appropriately to the requests for service which are directed to us.

What we must never forget, finally, in our role as Janus, preserver of the past and shaper of the future, is that the central mission of the university is academic, that the university must be dedicated first and always to the cultivation of the human intellect in this modern and technologically advanced society. In a word, the life of the university is the life of the mind. Permit me to conclude with a brief quotation from Nietzsche's essay entitled, "Schopenhauer as Educator."

> "How can man come to know himself?" he asked. "He is a dark and veiled thing; and if the hare has seven skins a man could skin himself seventy times seven and still not say, 'This now is yourself, this is no longer husk.' Besides, it is an agonizing, dangerous enterprise to dig down into yourself and to descend forcibly by the shortest route down the shaft of your own being. A man may easily do himself such damage that no doctor can cure him. And besides, why should it be necessary, since everything bears witness to our being--our friendships and hatreds, our looks and our handshake(s), our memor(ies) and the things we forget, our books and the strokes of our pen(s)? But there is a way of performing this crucial inquiry. Let the young soul look back upon its life and ask: What up to now have you truly loved? What has raised up your soul? What ruled it, and at the same time made it happy? Line up these objects of reverence before you and perhaps by what they are, and by their sequence, they will yield to you a law, a basic law, of your proper self. Compare these objects, see how one completes, enlarges, exceeds and transfigures the others, how they form a ladder upon which you have so far climbed up toward yourself. For your own true nature does not lie hidden deep within you, but immeasurably high above you, or at least above that which you customarily take to be your self.

> Your true teachers, the men who formed you and educated you, revealed to you what is the true original sense and basic stuff of your nature, something absolutely uneducable and unformable but certainly something difficult of access, fettered, paralyzed; your teachers can be nothing but your liberators. And that is the secret of all education and culture; it does not give artificial limbs, wax noses or corrective lenses--rather, that which can give those gifts is merely a caricature of education. Education, on the contrary, is liberation, the clearing of all weeds, rubble, and vermin that might harm the delicate shoots, a radiance of light and warmth, a loving falling rustle of rain by nigh; it is imitation and adoration of nature, where nature is motherly and mercifully-minded."

When we truly understand that education is liberation, and when we offer to our students that invaluable opportunity to experience liberation--from ignorance, from prejudice, and from fear--we will be working together effectively as an intellectual community of teachers and scholars and we will truly be providing to our students the excellence in an educational experience to which we have committed ourselves. And we will have understood the full impact and have accepted the heavy responsibility of our role as Janus in a free society. I thank you.

Footnotes

[1]Wallace A. Russell, "On Joining the Human Race," Phi Kappa Phi Journal, LIII (Fall, 1973), p. 23.

[2]Ibid., p. 19.

[3]Ibid., p. 20.

[4]New Directions: Liberal Missions and Curriculum in the University Setting (University of Minnesota, 1971), p. 53.

GOVERNMENTAL INTERFERENCE WITH COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY

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GOVERNMENTAL INTERFERENCE WITH COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY

Morton S. Baratz*

Custom requires that those newly assuming a post be asked about the issues they expect to find most troublesome during their incumbency. Had I been asked that question in 1971 just before I became a chief academic officer in Maryland, I would not have mentioned today's topic. I soon learned better. Within weeks of settling behind my desk, and continuously thereafter, I and my associates spent hundreds of hours reacting to, trying to anticipate, and generally coping with repeated efforts by external agencies, State and Federal, to regulate various facets of the university's affairs. I'm sure that the University of Maryland was not and is not unique in this respect. None of the nation's colleges and universities seems to have escaped some degree of governmental interference into its internal operations.

If at the start of this decade too many of us were innocent about the erosion of academic self-government, we are no longer. Oddly, even so, I have heard no trumpets sounding the alarm from Academe's battlements. To the contrary, the airwaves have until very recently been almost undisturbed by discussions of this matter. I say "largely undisturbed" becuase only the American Association of University Professors seems early to have seen the threat for what it is and called others' attention to it. As early as 1965 a Self-Survey Committee of the Association said plainly:

> "Freedom of teaching and learning rests not only on the protection of individual faculty members from coercion and mistreatment by administrative officers and boards; it is founded also on a degree of autonomy and freedom for the educational institution as a collective entity. The integrity of the educational process can be endangered when an institution's policies and programs. . . are subjected to undue and misguided pressures from local or national community, from legislative bodies and public officials, from communications in media, from donors of funds or purchasers of services. State-supported institutions are exposed to special threats to their institutional autonomy as a result of new administrative and budgeting procedures that have been increasingly adopted within recent years by state governments in the interests of efficiency. . . This is an area of academic freedom to which the Association has given attention only indirectly, through its concern for individual professors. We should now recognize that the connection of institutional autonomy with the freedom of the individual professor is more than incidental; it is essential."[1]

From time to time since 1965 AAUP has repeated the substance of this position in a variety of forums. Significantly, however, it has been unable to elicit the full support of other higher-educational associations, as witness omission of any reference to the matter in the "Statement on Government of Colleges and Universities," issued jointly by AAUP, the American Council on Education, and the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges. AAUP has had, as a result, to preface the Statement with an "editorial note" which reads:

> "The Statement does not attempt to cover relations with those outside agencies which increasingly are controlling the resources and infleuncing the patterns of education in our institutions of higher learning; e.g., the United States government, the state legislatures, state commissions, interstate associations or compacts and other institutional arrangements. However it is hoped that the Statement will be helpful to these agencies in their consideration of educational matters."[2]

Perhaps you will agree that it is time--I would say past time--for us corporately to speak more forcefully than that.

The Substance of Academic Autonomy

Autonomy, according to Webster's dictionary, means "independence in government; also, without outside control." The history of higher education in America records no instance of autonomy in the fullest sense. From the founding of Harvard College in 1636 to the present, all or practically all colleges and universities have had to give voice or vote, and commonly both, to those "outsiders" who put up the money without which the institutions could not survive. Many academies have had to forebear, willingly or unwillingly, with direct interference into some or all phases of their educational conduct, whether on the part of their sponsors (churches, governments, etc.) or of others with a real or pretended interest in what was being taught, investigated or otherwise carried on. And even those universities which were spared direct intervention in matters pertaining to curriculum, pedagogy, scholarship, artistic performance, or student life have been--and are--behaviorally restricted in one degree or another by the prevailing "mobilization of bias" in society, that is, the predominantly held norms, beliefs, myths, rituals and procedures (or "rules of the game").[3]

Although American higher-educational institutions have never as a group enjoyed total autonomy, they have for many decades operated without significant interference from governments, whether federal, state or local. This generalization is, of course, more valid for independent colleges and universities than for those largely or entirely financed by government. But even state and municipal institutions were until recently

benignly neglected by legislative bodies, which asked only for assurance that appropriations were being spent in legitimate ways for legitimate purposes. Specifically, for most of this century and for some portion of the preceding one American academic institutions, and their faculties in particular, were substantially if not entirely autonomous with respect to:

1. Selection of students for admittance;
2. Establishment and enforcement of standards for students' retention and graduation;
3. Employment of faculty members and administrative workers;
4. Establishment of instructional curricula and determination of the intellectual content of each curriculum;
5. Determination of the pedagogical methods to be adopted and used; and
6. Determination of the kinds and characteristics of facilities and equipment to be installed for teaching, scholarly and artistic purposes.

Why should colleges and universities enjoy autonomy in these respects while elementary and secondary schools for the most part do not? The main reason is that students in the K-12 grades must be and are taught a largely standardized curriculum, one that is centered around the acquisition of basic learning skills-reading, writing, computation. Furthermore, attendance in elementary and secondary schools is mandatory for nearly everyone between ages 6 and 16. In these circumstances, it is all but moot whether or not teachers and administrators are autonomous with respect to which would-be pupils are to be admitted, what will

be taught and how, and who will be appointed to the faculty. In other words, where policy and practice are standardized, seasoned qualitative judgments become almost redundant.

In colleges and universities, by contrast, the instructional programs vary widely in informational content and, what is much more important, embody complicated general and specialized learning skills. General skills include conceptualization, formulation and testing of hypotheses, construction of theories, inference by deduction or induction; specialized skills include laboratory techniques, statistical analysis, survey research, literary exegesis, acting, sculpting, etc. Seen in this light, the content of higher education is so substantively different from that of elementary and secondary schooling that qualitative judgments must constantly be made about which students will and will not benefit from this or that curriculum, what each student must learn to qualify for the degree, which faculty members are fully qualified to offer the various curricula, etc. These kinds of judgments can best, indeed can only, be made by those who actually do the teaching and scholarship.

The Erosion of Institutional Autonomy

It is difficult to specify the dates on which governmental intrusion into academic affairs began in earnest. Perhaps the opening wedges were inserted in 1945 when veterans flooded the universities with money funneled through the Veterans' Administration. Or maybe a better date is 1958, the year the National Defense Education Act was voted by the Congress. Whatever the case, the issue is not a new one, as witness this passage from a 1968 paper by the eminent historian of academic freedom in America, Walter P. Metzger:

> "The times, I submit, have changed. Not everywhere, not in all respects. A small denominational college may still look as it looked in 1915. A major university may still be living off the precedents set long ago. Here and there a donor may still wish to establish an ideology in the course of establishing a schoolroom, or a trustee may still be tempted to utter the platitude of possession. But at the height where one loses particulars and gains synopsis one can see enormous transformations. Of these, one of the most important has been the flow of decisional power from authorities on the campus to those resident outside. Richer, larger, more complex than ever before, the typical modern institution is less self-directive than ever before. It has become, to coin a word, 'delocalized,' with consequences we are just beginning to perceive."4

What Metzger detected to be in process a decade ago is now in full flood and probably has not yet reached its crest. Left unchecked, it could drastically erode academic freedom, defined to mean not only what happens in a university but also what happens to one.[5]

In what ways and on what (apparent) grounds are governments now encroaching upon academic autonomy, in the somewhat limited meaning I've given the concept? In a few moments I shall offer some details, most of them learned during the six years lately ended when I served as a senior university administrator. By way of preface, however, I must observe that each of the forms of encroachment is indirect, as opposed to straightforward and deliberate aggression against institutional self-government. Indeed, many, possibly most, of those making or enforcing the acts of encroachment are aware dimly or not at all of the evil consequences of their behavior.

There is an important corollary to this proposition. Policy-making connotes to most of us a process in which issues are resolved through self-conscious analysis and debate. Without doubt, some of the

acts of intervention I shall mention were arrived at in that way. But new or revised public policies often emerge accidentally, in that they are unexpected or unintended consequences of what was thought to be a mere technical adjustment. At the risk of becoming tiresome, I illustrate from experience. For many years the UM's Board of Regents stipulated that (a) every high-school graduate in Maryland with a C average and in the upper half of his or her class would be admitted and (b) up to 6% of the entering first-year class could be admitted with a poorer record on an exceptional basis. In the late 1960's, when many high schools gave up ranking of graduates, the Regents authorized the substitution of a "predictive index" for purposes of admissions; the index was the output of a regression equation that blended high-school grades, SAT or ACT scores, and other presumably relevant variables. An index of 2.00 guaranteed admittance; those with scores of 1.75 to 1.99 were eligible for acceptance as exceptions.

In the early 1970's the main campus' Office of Institutional Research empirically confirmed its suspicion that grade-inflation necessitated modification of the regression equation. The new formulation was routinely adopted by the Admissions Office on my campus, i.e., without any consultation with the senior administrators. Within months I was being bombarded with complaints from professors and associate staffers charged with providing remedial and tutorial services to students in academic difficulty. Why, they demanded, were so many more students than previously failing courses, writing and computing so badly, proving so deficient in study skills? The answer, we discovered after a time, was that there had been no grade inflation on our campus, so that usage of the revised predictive index was causing us to admit far more "exceptional"

students than the Regents had authorized. A nice case, in short, of policy-making by computation! More to the point, the incident illustrates the absurdities which can result when decisions are made at some distance from where they must be implemented.[6]

To return to my main theme, here are some specific acts of encroachment upon academic autonomy, all of them drawn from my experience in Maryland but each either initiated or imitated elsewhere in the nation.

1. Interference with the mode of teaching. Across the country budget-making is increasingly determined by "formulae," a bureaucratic euphemism for "rule of thumb." This technique is especially popular when applied to the instructional budget. The formula may be primitive, e.g., 1 faculty position for 16 (or 18 or 20) FTE students; or it may be moderately refined à la contemporary Maryland, e.g., each professor must generate X student-credit hours per year, the value of X being fixed at successively higher amounts the more elementary the level of instruction. The justification for the formula is, inevitably, fiscal responsibility--a euphemism for saving money.

What is the relationship between formula budgeting and academic autonomy? Granted that colleges and universities lack a legitimate claim for a blank check for hiring of faculty members. Our claims must be weighed against competing demands for taxpayers' support. But suppose, as is the case, that the credit-hour formula creates an irresistible incentive to academic departments to scrap small-sized classes in favor of mass lectures in introductory courses. Professor A can generate all 632 of her required SCH in a 3-credit lecture course with 210-plus students, rather than dividing them into 3 separate sections of 70 each. And this

is but one illustration of several I could offer attesting to the changes in teaching methods that have flowed from the new formula. (I must also observe in passing that the SCH formula reinforces the foolish practice of providing the most individualized teaching to those who are most able to teach themselves--doctoral students; and the least individualized instruction to those who need it most--first- and second-year undergraduates.)

Formulae, expressed in square feet per person and in number of hours per week of usage, also determine the size and composition of the office, laboratory, and classroom inventory on the campus. Again the rationale is fiscal responsibility or accountability. And again the upshot is significant intrusion upon the ability of a university to decide for itself what shall be taught and investigated, and how.

2. Interference with curricular offerings. All or nearly all states now have a "1202 Commission," a board or council with broad supervisory powers over all post-secondary institutions. In common with commissions elsewhere, Maryland's State Board for Higher Education won in 1976 the authority to disapprove proposed new curricula which, among other things, do not promise to satisfy a demonstrable "economic or cultural need." It also has the authority to order the termination of degree programs that fail to satisfy certain criteria, including "avoidance of unnecessary duplication." In June 1977 it exercised its authority against a church-related institution which, however, receives cash subsidies from the General Assembly; Loyola College of Baltimore was denied permission to launch a D.Ed. program on the ground that a forthcoming and thus yet-to-be-approved Master Plan for higher education in the State will provide that doctoral programs will be offered at only four designated

institutions, 1 private and 3 public, in the State.

The rationale for limiting institutional autonomy in this manner should be evident. From the State's budgetary perspective, controls of this sort are eminently plausible, for why should the taxpayers be called upon to support a multiplicity of competing programs? On the other hand, should the kinds and characteristics of degree programs at each of a number of universities be determined by reference only to budgetary constraints? And what is to prevent a State Board from intervening in these decisions on the basis of other judgments it may make, such as the program's quality or someone's forecast of demand for the program's graduates in the near future or its own appraisal of the "cultural need" for the program? Where, in other words, is the boundary line between the principle of accountability and the principle of academic freedom?

3. Interference with grading and related practices. Most thoughtful persons accept that university students are as entitled to "due process" as are their professors. Machinery for orderly and judicious disposition of students' grievances--about grades, living conditions, etc.--can be and commonly is in place. Why then is serious consideration being given by Maryland's legislature to bills that would create a gubernatorially-appointed Higher Education Review Board which would serve in effect as a court of last resort for aggrieved students whose complaints have been heard and dismissed by a succession of faculty-student committees and administrators within the university?

4. Interference with hiring practices. This form of challenge to institutional autonomy is purposefully put at the end of my (abbre-

viated) listing, and for obvious reasons. Partially by design but even more by inexcusable oversight, American colleges and universities have done much injury to the well-being of females and members of various racial, ethnic and religious groups. This outcome stems directly from the traditional practice, which is consistent with institutional autonomy, of self-selection both of colleagues and students. Governmental intervention of some kind was surely necessary to dissipate the exclusionary policies and practices and thereby to bring colleges and universities into conformity with the nation's declared will on this matter.

I added the phrase "of some kind" with forethought, because it is the character of current Federal policy and procedure that most concerns me, not merely that affirmative-action requirements sap institutional autonomy. Although I do not claim expert's status, I'm a certified veteran of this battle in the war to end improper discrimination, having written a campus' affirmative-action plan, labored diligently to see that the plan was strictly adhered to, monitored the results periodically, and even been a key defendant in a court action initiated by the US Department of Justice. I came away from all this with the sorrowful conclusion that under Affirmative Action almost everybody loses, almost nobody wins. Those women and minority-group members who do get jobs can never be sure they were selected because their merit was recognized or, instead, because they helped the employing college attain a numerical goal (should I say "quota"?) according to a prescribed timetable. More and more of universities' scarce resources must be diverted from other activities to data-collection, data-processing and data-analysis; creation and maintenance of cumbersome "audit trails;" preparation of numerous, lengthy reports to public agencies; self-defense of rational decisions against often-groundless grievances and

suits. And governmental officers flounder in their efforts to devise rules and "guidelines" that are at once workable, productive of desired outcomes, and worthy of the respect of all parties concerned. These sad results strike me as inadequate reward for the concurrent sacrifice of academic freedom that they entail.

You will have noted that from time to time I have used "institutional autonomy" and "academic freedom" as if they were synonyms. If you agree that they are and if you accept the further proposition that academic freedom is an ultimate, as opposed to an instrumental value, you will share my alarm about what is happening. My fears are, and yours probably will be heightened by the realization that intrusions of the kind I've identified put into jeopardy the integrity of higher education. Is it unreasonable to suggest that we are being driven collectively towards a setting in which most colleges and universities will be simply "economic filling stations," that is, compelled by governments to train rather than educate students and to limit the training programs to those lines of work the US Bureau of Labor Statistics forecasts to be expanding? Another related question: Are the humanistic disciplines to be limited to offering only "service" courses because governments decree that job opportunities for humanists are shrinking? And still another question: Is basic scientific research in colleges and universities to be virtually supplanted by "Research Applied to National Needs"? I have no confidence that the answers to these and similar questions will be "No."

Some Thoughts about Remedies

I am reminded at this point of one of Sam Rayburn's shrewd aphorisms. "Any jackass," he said, "can kick a barn door down, but it

takes a carpenter to build one." Having battered the door, let me apply some tools.

There is a simple way to reconcile governments' insistence upon fiscal accountability with universities' need for a maximal degree of autonomy. Without doubt, public monies will continue to flow to colleges and universities, including those that insist upon calling themselves "private" or "independent." The elected officials who vote the funds have every right, indeed the obligation, to demand full and regular accounting for the expenditure of the funds and to insist upon economy in their usage. But accountability does not need to be accompanied by detailed intervention into institutional decisions about what is to be taught, how, and in what physical conditions. If the legislators believe that "too much" is being spent on higher education, they may simply reduce appropriations and thereby compel the recipients to reconsider and probably reallocate resources according to their respective best judgments. If "too many" of the institutions persist in offering similar curricula, some or all will soon discover that they can no longer afford to compete in those areas and they will seek others in which they have a comparative advantage. Those programs lacking comparative advantage will disappear just as tends to happen to private businesses in a market economy. What might be called "bulk appropriations" is, in short, a method for assuring accountability and careful husbandry without serious impairment of institutional autonomy.

It is much less easy to devise means for reconciling the imperatives of affirmative action and those of academic self-government. My suggestions are offered hesitantly and contain some ill-concealed

escape hatches.

The main ingredient of a different approach is on the supply side. Rather than coercing colleges and universities to compete vigorously and often fruitlessly among themselves for a limited number of available persons, governmental policy should be aimed at increasing the number of females and minority-group members possessing the training and experience that will equip them for academic jobs. Two particular barriers to entrance into academic careers must be removed by governmental action. One is financial: many women and most minority-group persons are unable to bear the costs, especially the earnings foregone, of full-time graduate education, including the postdoctoral apprenticeship. Generous scholarship assistance must be provided. The second barrier to entrance, particularly for minority-group members, is academic deficiency of one or more kinds. Financial assistance must be given to the universities to enable them to provide adequate remediation to those with native talent but inadequate preparation.

My confidence in the feasibility of diluting all-male and all-white faculties through increased supply of women and minorities is strongly reinforced by experience on the campus I recently left. There the employment of female professors increased markedly between 1974 and 1977, not primarily because of vigorous affirmative action but because the number of skilled women applying rose markedly. Furthermore, the status of females and minorities already on the faculty has steadily improved through internal means, e.g., salary-equalization practices, revampment of certain promotion/tenure procedures; elsewhere, I understand, collective-bargaining agreements have contained provisions for

systematic elimination of sex- or racially-based inequities. Internal solutions, even if imperfect, have an enormous advantage over external pressures: they are accepted as legitimate because they were designed by the persons who must abide by them. There is no reason why in relatively short order the gains of women cannot also accrue to blacks, Chicanos, Latinos, native Americans and all other minority groups.

But the demand side must not be overlooked. This is to say that, although HEW's effort to carry out the law has achieved little at unacceptable cost, removal of the threat of sanctions for failure to increase the ratio of women and minorities to total faculty would invite a return to the status quo ante--and that too is unacceptable.

The way out of this dilemma is through non-governmental avenues. First, each college and university should be urged voluntarily to subscribe to a statement of equal opportunity in higher education, just as many have subscribed to the 1940 Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure, jointly issued by AAUP and the Association of American Colleges. Most will, if only because they no longer dare to admit that they intend to discriminate in hiring on the basis of race, ethnicity or gender. Second, those institutions that demonstrably abrogate their commitment to hiring equality can be dealt with in either of two ways: (a) censure by their peers after the manner in which AAUP has long censured violators of academic freedom; or (b) widespread publicity of the kind that followed Davidson College's recent denial of a "tenure-track" position to a Jewish faculty appointee.

This approach is less than a cure-all. But, I suggest, it gets much closer than does current policy and practice to achievement of equality by race, gender and ethnic origin without sacrifice of institutional

autonomy.

I could go on at length about related matters but I shall err on the side of brevity, mindful of Bret Harte's aphorism that "Brief words, when action waits, are well." By way of summary, I leave the last words to Malcolm Moos and Francis Rourke, who wrote in 1959:

> "Where the onset of state control--administrative as well as political--threatens to strip away the authority of independent governing boards, it contains a grave threat to the intellectual as well as to the institutional independence of a university. These two phases of university freedom cannot be dissociated. Intellectual freedom originally sprouted in an environment of institutional autonomy. It may well lose its vitality altogether if public (and private) colleges and universities are ever brought within the harness of conventional state administration. Preserving the authority of lay boards of trustees from state interference is as vital to freedom of a university as the defense of teaching and research on the campus."7

GOVERNMENTAL INTERFERENCE WITH COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY

NOTES

*Although I hope my associates in AAUP--officers, members and staffers alike--agree with the arguments and inferences in this paper, I have no assurance that any does. I speak, therefore, only for myself.

[1]Glenn R. Morrow, et al., "Report of the Self-Survey Committee of the AAUP," AAUP Bulletin, Vol. 51, No. 2 (May 1965), pp. 148-49.

[2]AAUP Policy Documents and Reports, 1977 Edition, p. 40.

[3]The meaning and socio-political significance of nondecision-making and of the mobilization of bias are discussed in Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, Power and Poverty (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), Ch. 1-4.

[4]Walter P. Metzger, "Academic Freedom in Delocalized Academic Institutions," in Walter P. Metzger, Sanford Kadish, Arthur D. Bardeleben, and Edward J. Bloustein, Dimensions of Academic Freedom (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1969), pp. 14-15.

[5]Ibid., p. 3.

[6]I am indebted to Woodley Osborne for this nice observation.

[7]Malcolm Moos and Francis E. Rourke, The Campus and the State (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1959), pp. 289-90.

VULNERABILITY IN COLLEGE TEACHING

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VULNERABILITY IN COLLEGE TEACHING

Kaoru Yamamoto

"When I started teaching," Highet (1976, p.75) noted, "I thought it would become easier as I went along. Now I know it does not." Contrasting the profession of teaching with medicine or the ministry, he went on to observe that an average teacher, even with a long experience, will not have a comparably thorough grasp of the particular craft, precisely because the craft is continuously changing and the person must be changing with it. Thus, "no solution to any of our problems is permanent. Change and renewal are constantly necessary. We must incessantly reexamine our job and ourselves" (pp. 75-76).

The Matter of Teaching

Some of the difficulties we experience, and frustration we feel, seem inherent in the process of teaching or, more appropriately, in the way we conceptualize the process of teaching. In most instances, we think of two different parties in interaction, one doing the teaching and the other doing the learning. Unfortunately, this familiar juxtaposition gives rise to much confusion (Yamamoto, 1975a).

There is, to begin with, the common tendency to define teaching in terms of learning, conveniently forgetting the fact that two distinct individuals are in the picture, each with his or her own long-range goals and immediate intentions(See Figure 1).

Both act to seek certain consequences within their respective lifespaces, but, in the first instance, the two vectors (i.e., intentions → acts →

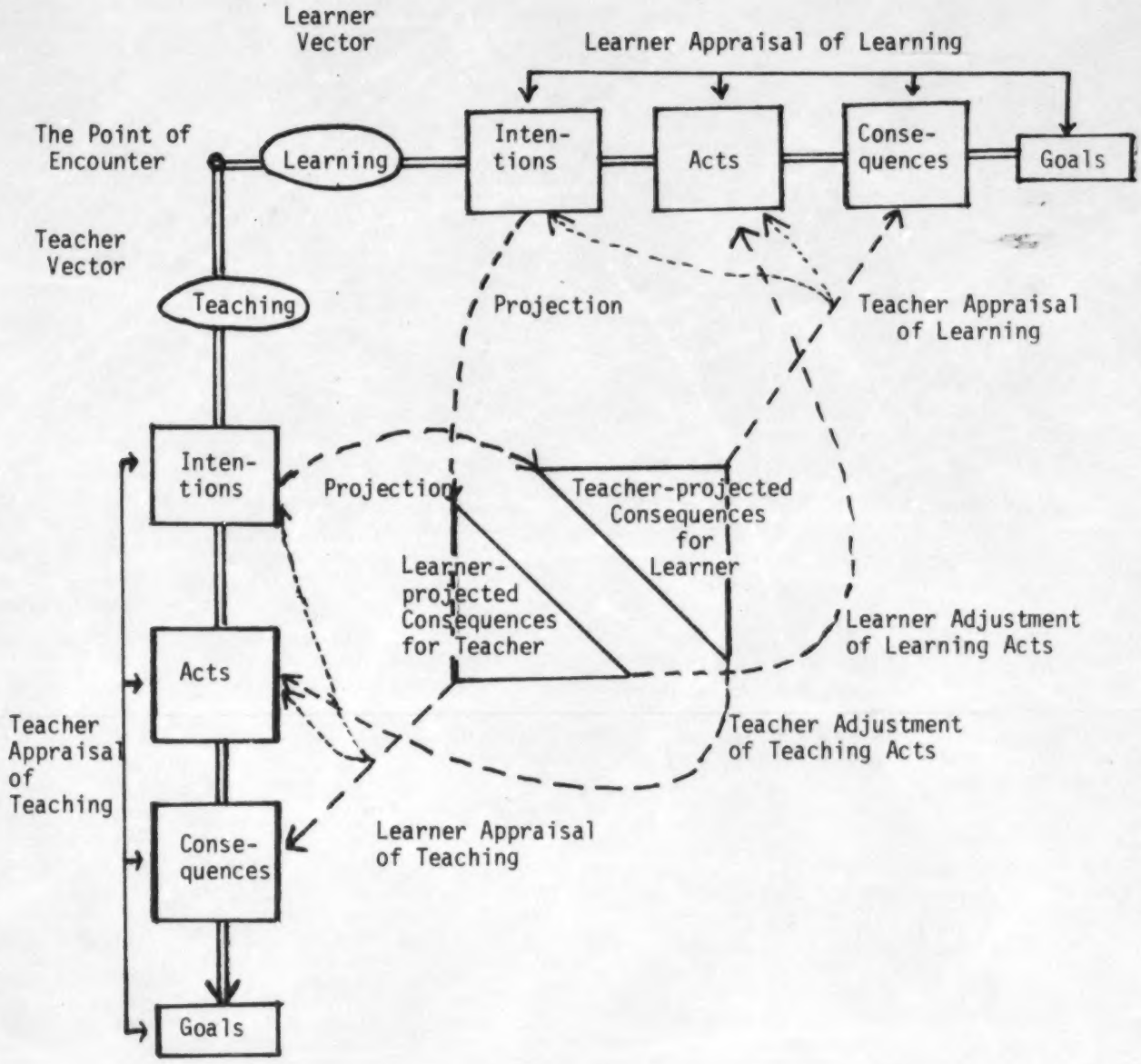

Figure 1. The Teacher and the Learner

(from Yamamoto, 1975a)

consequences ⟶ goals) have little in common, logically and experientially, with each other. To define teaching by simply referring to what the learner does or does not do is therefore a unilateral act. The situation here is not unlike that found in parents who project their own problems onto their children and wish for them. As Fromm (1956, p.102) put it:

> When a person feels that he has not been able to make sense of his own life, he tries to make sense of it in terms of the life of his children. But one is bound to fail within oneself and for the children. The former because the problem of existence can be solved by each one only for himself, and not by proxy; the latter because one lacks in the very qualities which one needs to guide the children in their own search for an answer.

If, in other words, a person's justification for his or her teaching life rests exclusively in the conduct of the other party, the interaction is bound to be strained to lead to several unfortunate results. First, teaching is likely to be based upon what I call the vending machine model. Here, for the benefit of the learner, the teacher stocks up a supply of goodies. So long as these bits of information and skills last, the teacher can feel needed and worthwhile--she or he is teaching. However, once the supply runs out (and this usually happens sooner than expected), the machine is empty and of no use to anyone. Thus, the teacher is no teacher anymore. This way of thinking is implicit in many a practice of teaching, but we must ask, "Is that all there is to one's being a teacher? When a human being is in a teaching relationship vis-à-vis another human being, is that all there is to it?"

Second, when the teacher explains his or her significance in the name of the learner, a trend becomes predominant to seek one's

measure of effectiveness in the learner consequences.[1] This is typically done out of context, since it tends not only to disregard the totality of the learner vector (who the person is, and how the specific consequences fit into his or her understanding of the whole experience), but also to ignore the critical teacher vector itself and the full array of interactional variables (expectations, appraisals, adjustments, etc., on both sides). The simple equation that depicts learner consequences as a linear function of teacher acts leaves too much out of the dynamic process of encounter.

The automatic pairing of teaching and learning is misleading in yet another sense. It has traditionally guided our attention to only one facet of the learner consequences, namely, his or her learning in the narrow sense. Strictly speaking, the concept refers to a process internal to the learner, which is inferred usually from the person's skill acquisition or accretion in information. Meanwhile, what has been overlooked is the central process of development, a process that has to do more with changes in the regulatory principles and integrative structures (Loevinger, 1976) than with changes in specific parts and elements. A sheer accumulation of contents without form leads to a haphazard heap, and a mere expansion of associative units without pattern gives an unintelligible pile. "Structure alone has the capacity to impart meaning to

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[1]The criteria for assessing these learner consequences are sometimes specific teacher-projected consequences for the learner (e.g., the so-called behavioral objectives, or teaching competencies). At other times, they are global projections of unknown or more obscure bases (e.g., the so-called national norms). Revealingly, the learner consequences are seldom examined in reference to learner intentions, acts, or goals themselves.

what it structures" (Mucchielli, 1972, p. xii).[2] When two people meet, two distinct sets of structures in somatic, mental, and social realms, as well as two suprasturctures across all these, come into action. Without some changes in structure occuring through the interaction, it would be difficult for either party to claim that he or she has touched the other's life in progress, or that any teaching has taken place at all (Yamamoto, 1969).

Indeed, the concept of development (central structural changes), not that of learning (peripheral elemental changes), is fundamental to our educational concerns. This shift in focus also requires substitution of a short-range time perspective with a long-range one. The emphasis on immediacy of effects in the teaching-learning framework adds to the sense of vulnerability in the teacher who can hardly point to any direct and visible results of his or her teaching acts within an arbitrary school calendar, typically a semester or an academic year. If forced to provide evidence of quick productivity,[3] the teacher will understandably concentrate on peripheral and visible changes.

The Manner of Teaching

The matter of time perspective in teaching is an important one, because it readily opens up a vista on the general manner in which our particular culture has been handling formalized teaching, or schooling.

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[2]The following may be added to complete the line of thought: "... and the individual alone has the capacity to build this structure." Some ramifications of this basic perspective will be discussed later.

[3]See Yamamoto (1975a) for some comments on this revealing concept itself.

Characteristically, school days are organized on monochronic basis (Hall, 1969); thus, schedules are important, promptness counts, time is segmented, and things are done one at a time. Adherence to a present, sequential, and compartmentalized plan of action takes precedence over the polychronic practice of simultaneous transactions with many people with much involvement. It is to be expected that a teacher who is well rooted in the monochronic style would experience difficulty with students from polychronic cultures, and also that the polychronic orientation seldom thrives in a monochronic institutional organization and climate.

Even in working with students of similar cultural backgrounds, a monochronic teacher is likely to feel at a loss when placed in a context more polychronic than usual, for example, that found in British informal schools where varied activities need to be handled concurrently at numerous locations within a given room (Palmer, 1971; Richardson, 1967). Such arrangements call for a perspective on space, as well as on time, which is culturally divergent. The prevalent pattern is much too familiar even to remain in our consciousness but, all the same, it powerfully influences the what and how of teaching (Yamamoto, in press). A factory-like building with rooms of uniform shape and size, fixed desk positions, invariable teacher movements, and no student territory--the whole layout conveys an unmistakable message that is to be tacitly understood among the participants.

In the same vein, the persistent, and often exclusive, dependence upon the postfigurative mode of teaching is a remarkable cultural feature. This is the situation in which the task is assumed by the old, experienced, and presumably wise to teach the young (Mead, 1970), with all the attendant

"hidden curriculum" (Snyder, 1973). The reverse of this mode, or the prefigurative way of teaching, has seldom been acknowledged or practiced in our schools. The same may be said of still another mode in which the relationships shift from vertical to horizontal in direction. Thus, the cofigurative mode, or teaching among peers, has received much less attention than it deserves. The ramifications here include the issue of the ultimate responsibility for one's development (Taylor, 1969), and that of the institutional teaching culture, or the cofigurative efforts among the faculty themselves (Mann and associates, 1970).

No matter which mode, or combination of modes, is selected, moreover, there is no denying that our schooling reflects precisely the broader cultural preoccupation with a single sense modality (visual) and one means of communication (verbal). In combination, we find ourselves still in the tight grip of the Gutenberg innovation back in the fifteenth century! Of the generally recognized human sense modalities, five receive comparatively less attention, if at all: auditory, tactile, proprioceptive, olfactory and gustatory. An individual with any of these senses salient will not find many opportunities to use and refine it in academic experience. Even with the visual modality itself, words and numbers predominate the scene, and seldom objects, pictures, colors, postures, or movements (Thompson, 1973), to thwart many people's potential. Schooling stays one-dimensional to suit only a certain group of students.

The familiar ways of culture may not be the most desirable in yet another sense. It has been observed in recent studies that the phenomenal evolutionary growth of human brain is primarily of the neocortex, that the functioning of the brain has been increasingly differentiated

and specialized in various regions, and that the neocortical regions that grew the most in humans as compared to other primates are those concerned with motor skills, language, attention and memory, and spatial abilities (Fishbein, 1976). Functions that appear to be very disparate are actually closely related, and they are often mediated by the same area of brain. Thus, Hall has this to say (1977, p. 199):

> The frontal part of the brain, the part where synthesis of thoughts and ideas as well as their expression takes place, is concerned in part with five surprisingly different but apparently related activities--perception, body movement, performance of planned action, memorizing, problem solving. Body movement! Who would have thought that body movement was related to problem solving?

The case is only incidentally for a literally active involvement of the learner in his or her educational processes. It is, far more critically, for a reexamination of the whole curricular organization. Typically, the college curriculum is narrowly conceived in terms of subject matters, and the courses are grouped and sequenced on the basis of tradition or, at best, on that of an analysis of the disciplinary structures. However, it is unlikely that even the allegedly logical arrangement of such a provision corresponds with the organic givens in the students.

Speaking of the human givens, one basic, if not entirely organic, experience of Homo sapiens needs to be taken into serious consideration when we discuss teaching. I refer to the ludic, or playful, elements that tend to be ignored in the serious business of schooling (an interesting expression, indeed!). As elaborated elsewhere (Yamamoto, 1977), play is an invitation and challenge of exploration, creation, and transcendence. The familiar cultural rules of time, space, status, and the like are sus-

pended in the play sphere to allow for a voluntary, sustained pursuit of mastery and understanding of life situations.

It is appropriate to recall that the word, school, or Latin schola, comes from Greek skholē, which stood for leisure, leisure devoted to one's education. Where there is no room for students to play with both apparent and hidden possibilities, to figure things out by themselves, and to wrestle with their own emotions, school becomes something less than a freeing and integrating experience. A closed curriculum and overorganized instruction do not allow for the spirit of play, which is critical for the individual and collective development. As Sir Read put it (1963, p. 12): "There are many possible approaches to creative education, but they all usually fail because they are too intentional, too self-consciously applied (the 'self' being the teacher)." Too strident a voice and too zealous a posture may merely betray the absence of playfulness, lack of enjoyment, and fear of ambiguity and uncertainty on the teacher's part. One is reminded of a noted professor of English literature who wondered out loud how it is possible that a teacher shows little sign of sense of humor, or flight of imagination, after spending all his life in the company of the likes of Shakespeare. When he calls this the "mystery of American scholarship" (O'Toole, 1970, p. 14), he is asking a poignant question of all of us.

The Mask in Teaching

Even though an emphasis has been placed upon "communication, or rather communion: sharing the experience of learning and understanding" (Highet, 1976, p. 109), it is not likely that a teacher and his or her students reveal much of themselves to each other. Most of us feel too

vulnerable to disclose ourselves freely and interact deeply as humans with a full range and depth of ideation and emotion. We are acutely conscious of the need to maintain our good names so as to be socially invulnerable (Henry, 1973). Chasing illusory success, the teacher ironically finds oneself driven by the fear of failure, and frequently comes to deceive that very self.

The institutional workings of colleges and universities seem to be aggravating this situation. Historically, three contrasting influences have shaped American higher education (Light, 1974). One is the English model of intellectual and moral nurturance of elite. The Oxford tutorial system epitomizes this approach. The second is the Scottish model of advanced instruction of the general public in practical subjects. Finally, there is the German model of scientific research conducted and preserved in the enclaves of specialists.

In many schools, all three traditions have been haphazardly mixed to catch the college professor in a bind. The avowed institutional mission and the operational framework may be Scottish in nature, but the ideal conduct of the teacher tends to be described in the manner of the English model, while his or her performance will be judged against the German criteria! The three functions of character building, skill training, and knowledge expansion are difficult to combine and embody in a given individual, and many try to juggle the roles of tutor, craftsman (or woman), and investigator. Alas, the desperate efforts do not provide the college teacher with clear identity <u>as college teacher</u>. To be sure, it is gratifying to be a mentor to a select few, but the 20th-century American teacher cannot forget the bulk of students in defining what

uniquely characterizes him or her.

A systematic preparation for the occupation is as rare today nationally (Mayhew and Ford, 1974) as 30 years ago when it was stated that, "The American college teacher is the only high level professional man in the American scene who enters upon a career with neither the prerequisite trial of competence nor experience in the use of tools of his profession" (Wise, 1967, p. 74). The entry decision itself is still a result more of drift (Gustad, 1959) than of any long-standing aspiration and planning, and no extensive programs of early identification and recruitment of talents have been attempted in college teaching as such (Eble, 1971, 1972). Over and beyond the level of scholarship commonly attained in the regular doctoral experiences,[4] moreover, the teachers-to-be have little opportunity to engage themselves in intensive study of the process per se of teaching (Yamamoto, 1969) and in carefully designed internship and residency (Jencks and Riesman, 1969).

One of the inevitable results of all this is a nagging feeling of sham, which neither one's academic degree nor job title can dispel. When someone justifies his or her capabilities as a teacher on the basis of qualifications in some other activities, teaching itself is demeaned, and students understandably resent such mockery. The teacher may flaunt credentials with all the sanctioned symbols, yet the feeling of untruthfulness persists. Many a voice of anguish is raised in private, and

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[4]Needless to say, this does not mean that the current doctoral programs leave little to be desired. Far from it, many bold changes are in order to free advanced graduate education from encouraging narrow vision, triviality, self-righteousness, and unimaginativeness (Heiss, 1970; Yamamoto, 1975b).

doubts undermine the critical sense of competence as both a teacher and a person. No wonder, then, that the teacher is typically unwilling to disclose such vulnerable image of self in working with the learner.

Some attempt to overcome the feelings of threat and insecurity by impressing their superiority upon students. For example, an enormous amount of information may be collated and presented without much regard for the dynamics of interaction. Encyclopedic texts may be required for rote memory of the details, even though the books are unreadable and boring. An arbitrarily high level of performance may be expected of students so as to establish a claim of teacher rigor. Others resort to the mechanism of identification with the aggressor (Bettelheim, 1971). Here, inordinate significance is ascribed to research, consultation, guild, administration, or any other non-teaching activities to magnify the perceived importance of one's contribution in these realms. Unfortunately, in either case, harm has already been done, and teacher frustration, restiveness, and cynicism are bound to be communicated, if unawares. Indeed, instances of overt denigration of teaching, as well as of students, are not that rare in college classrooms.

Institutional honesty in recognizing that "to discover and to teach are distinct functions" would certainly help lessen the sense of vulnerability. If, in addition, it is acknowledged that "they are distinct gifts ... not commonly found united in the same person" (Newman, 1959, p. 10), gifts to be nurtured and cherished in their respective ways, many college teachers can begin extricating themselves from "the myth that teaching is secondary, passive, and sedentary" (Eble, 1976, p. 138), and may be more inclined to remove the mask in teaching. In this light, it is instructive to note the following statement in the final

report of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1973, p. 28): "There should be equal reqard for teaching as for research, except for research at the highest levels of competence." (Also see Caws, 1974.)

Nevertheless, liberation from sham is ultimately a matter of individual integrity. Unless a teacher dares to assert that, "It should be the chief aim of a university professor to exhibit himself in his own true character--that is, as an ignorant man thinking, actively utilising his small share of knowledge" (Whitehead, 1967, p. 37), it is improbable for him or her to be authentically present in interaction. Unless the individual continues to strive for maturity as a person, he or she has little to offer in the shared struggle for wisdom and compassion. Such, as I see it, is the eternal challenge to each and every one of us in teaching.

VULNERABILITY IN COLLEGE TEACHING

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